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/For information on music and dancing accompanying Sarakatsani weddings, see category 585./

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585 From Sunday until the evening of Tuesday, by which time 602 the guests have all departed, the bride remains secluded inside the bridegroom's hut, where she is attended by relays of the groom's close female kinswomen. This seclusion fits the feelings of shyness and shame which a bride is expected to experience [754] at the thought of the various implications of her new status; but it also protects her from the dangers of the evil eye, the destructive force of envy whether consciously or unconsciously exercised to which both the marriage partners are thought to be peculiarly susceptible at this time. In the groom's hut she is guarded and supported by the women with whom her lot is now cast and by the icons and other ritual objects which belong [576] to the family. Whenever a stranger or a member of the family comes into the hut she at once stands up to show respect, gazing fixedly with expressionless stare at the ground in front of her. It is not unusual for a bride to stand transfixed in this way for three or four hours. It is with the greatest difficulty that from time to time she is persuaded to sit down and rest, or to eat a mouthful of wheaten bread dipped in wine.

[535] On the Monday, however, she must leave the hut about midday to lead the dance. She dances in turn with the marriage sponsor (ὁ κουμπάρος), her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and other prominent [272] guests. On the Tuesday morning she prepares in silence cups of sweet coffee for her parents-in-law. They wish her long life and sons, and she thanks them. At midday she makes a rice pie. Later that day the guests, who night and day have been drinking, dancing, and feasting since Saturday morning, depart. Before they leave, the guests, almost all of whom are kinsmen or affines of the groom, take their leave of the bride, the men taking her hand, the women kissing her on the cheeks; and she with respect kisses their hands. Each guest makes her a small money gift and she in return gives each man a small wedding bag (τροβάς) of black and white check material woven by herself, in which is placed some bread, meat, and cheese for the homeward journey. Each female guest receives a smaller embroidered bag. To the sponsor the bride gives the choicest blanket (βελέντζα) of her dowry after he has presented her with a money gift of about 100 drachmas (twenty-five shillings). The bride, at this point, also exchanges gifts with the members

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But these visits are unlikely to be merely social and the main purpose of the journey is generally the arrangement of some business. At festivals, on the other hand, kinsmen meet to enjoy one another's company and other considerations are secondary. On the Tuesday after Easter Monday a man often sets off on a journey to a close kinsman living at a distance whom he has not seen during the winter. And after the feast of St. George before the migration to summer pastures there may be a wedding to attend. Later in the year when the Sarakatsani have moved up to the mountain villages of the Zagori there are other opportunities to meet less closely related kinsmen. About the end of July when the impregnated ewes gradually cease to yield milk, there is more leisure for the shepherds to attend the weddings, most of which occur in August and September. Also a number of the villages in the Zagori celebrate in the summer the feast-day of their patron saint. These village feasts (πανηγύρια) last for three days and nights during which there is almost continuous dancing in the village square with much eating and drinking besides. Many Sarakatsani go to these village festivals not only when it is the feast-day of the saint of their own summer village, but also to the celebrations of other villages where they have a kinsman. In the holiday atmosphere they are hospitably welcomed and their company and conversation give pleasure to their hosts. It makes no difference whether visitors are near or distant relatives; the more visitors a family entertains the more its prestige increases. But in addition to these public festivals each Sarakatsan family, or stani, celebrates privately one of the three summer religious festivals which they consider important. These are: the prophet Elias, 20th July, Saint Paraskeve, 26th July, and the Assumption of the All Holy One (The Virgin Mary), 15th August. On these feast-days meat is killed, wine is drunk, and in the larger stanis there is dancing. It is essentially a family celebration but kinsmen, who live in other villages and celebrate a different festival, will come to visit and share in the festivities. These are the various occasions which help to maintain a certain minimal frequency of contact between dispersed kinsmen, although the demands of the sheep prevent any individual shepherd from being present at more than one or perhaps two of these events each year.

But weddings are, undoubtedly, the most significant of these

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these extremes is the ambivalence of certain marriage customs which express the mutual antagonism between the two sides and its limitation within conventional bounds. 585 602

When the groom's bridal procession arrives at a point about a quarter of a mile from the bride's home it halts. Five of the younger, braver, and better mounted men (συγχαριάτες) ride on ahead to bear the tidings of the groom's approach to the bride's people. Their object is to ride up to the door of the bride's hut at a full gallop, where they attempt to scatter and terrify the kinsmen of the bride. The aim of the bride's people, on the other hand, is to dismount and thereby ridicule as many of the riders as possible. Traditionally, this was done by firing blank charges at the feet of the oncoming horses, so that they reared in terror and threw their riders. Nowadays, if the [654] bride lives near a village, this method of attack is not attempted because the possession of firearms is illegal, but with the help of barking dogs and the banging of tin cans it is still possible to give the riders an unpleasant reception. Because convention permits this cut and thrust, no offence may be taken, unless it is pursued with an excess of malice. As each man reaches the door of the bride's hut, he claims from an appointed kinsman of the bride the coloured handkerchief which is the prerogative of these riders.

When the entire party of the groom has assembled, they are offered Turkish delight and a glass of ouzo by the bride's family, but this is the limit of the hospitality which is offered. Before the arrival of the groom, the bride's people have [271] prepared a shady picnic site, by spreading blankets on the ground and providing a barrel of fresh water. Thus while the bride's kinsmen eat and dance inside the huts, the groom's party take their midday meal outside under a tree, eating the food they have brought with them. They invariably eat this meal in a mood of impatient ill-humour, with many complaints that the water is tepid and the place unsuitable. By this formal denial of commensality the bride's family express their opposition to those who support the bridegroom.

After the religious betrothal ceremony has been completed, the groom's party are eager to leave. The bride's family, on the [535] contrary, insist that she goes through the lengthy ritual of dancing for the last time with each member of her family.

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are rigidly segregated, and the categorical opposition is evident. For in this context women are always a potential threat to the honour of men whether the latter are kinsmen or strangers. Thus unrelated persons of opposite sex seldom speak except to exchange a curt and conventional 'good day' if they meet on a narrow path. Although a man calls out a greeting to an unmarried girl, she keeps her eyes on the ground and never replies. At weddings unrelated persons of opposite sex, even though they are members of the same kindred of the bride or the groom, may not speak to one another. On these occasions the two sexes hold their feasting and dancing separately. In recent years at village festivals unrelated Sarakatsani of both sexes sometimes dance in the same ring but a woman is always flanked on both sides by men to whom she is related.

Within the group of related families which co-operate in the management of sheep, there are occasions when this opposition is expressed in accepted attitudes of sexual solidarity. If a number of women are working together on a common task such as the building of a hut, a group of men with nothing better to occupy their time will stand about smoking while they freely criticize their women's craftsmanship, and even revile them for their more general faults of ugliness and cunning. From time to time one of the more senior women will attempt some reply. 'Men', she calls out, 'are lazy good-for-nothings who do nothing but talk.' These exchanges begin in tones of banter but sometimes, in the later stages, they find sharp edges. In family life a favourite topic of evening conversation is a debate on the relative contributions and sacrifices which are made by the men and the women of the family for its well-being and security. This kind of talk is good-humoured but serves to draw out and emphasize what is expected of male and female roles.

Women face a hard and merciless routine of work and suffering. *Camaraderie* and the consciousness of a common fate help them to face it. This aspect of the solidarity of women is often expressed in the frequent discussion among those related by kinship or marriage of their common subjection to men in sexual activity. There is a great deal of bawdy reference to the male sex organs, and women constantly speak of their dislike of sexual intercourse and the absence of physical pleasure they find in it.

585 groom, flanked by his comrades, came to claim the bride and lead the first dance. She was reft from her shadows, conducted downstairs and out under the trees as the sun set at the end of the valley.

585 535 Her husband conducted her through an extremely formal *syrtos*, followed by a *kalamatiano*, each taking alternate places at the head of a dozen guests strung out, with linked hands, in a crescent. Neither looked at the other, and there was a distinct hint of constraint in the air — no wonder, since, though they came from neighboring summer pastures, it was quite likely they had never [584] met before. Their marriage was as free of private choice as a medieval dynastic alliance between a Wittelsbach and a Hohenstaufen.

585 It is hard not to wonder about the early phases of primitive marriages all over Greece; the shuddering apprehension which must prevail on the one hand and the unmanning strangeness on the other. Till very recently, in the Mani, so inhibiting was the shyness of newly wed strangers that a sword was placed under their pillow in the hopes that it might symbolically sunder this knot of 585 constraint in one Gordian slash. These handicaps 831 must have been made all the more debilitating, in former times, by gloomy preoccupations with the previous inviolacy of the bride, and the long vigil of the guests outside the nuptial dwelling till the groom's mother could blazon forth the all-clear in red on white — to an outburst of salvos and of rustic epithalamiums — on a gory sheet or a shift. In these strict and moral societies, such proofs were surely redundant; but I have heard of Cretan bridegrooms — convinced, and probably baselessly, that others have been beforehand with them — repudiating their brides and unloosing, as though in compensation, unstanchable bloodshed between families. And what about the poor bridegroom? Would the flood tide of wine swirl him triumphantly through all obstacles, or unmast him amidships? No wonder they looked shy. [202] Young Sarakatsáns now do their military service like the rest of Greeks and no doubt head for the lanes on the outskirts of garrison towns on mating [836] forays with their fellow recruits. But formerly, living in a ferociously chaste society, they approached wedlock unarmed by all but theory, hearsay, and rule of thumb.

585 535 Her two dances over, the bride withdrew to her chamber, and more general dancing began. It was uncomplicated, formal, and correct. Plenty of the younger Sarakatsáns were well on in wine and had been so for days, but their dash and high spirits deserted them the moment they joined the

585 long chain of the dancers. Their pace subsided
535 to a ritual shuffle. There is nothing unusual in this; with a few exceptions, Greek dances, however many people may be joined hand in hand, are in effect solos — everything devolves on the leader, and each dancer, when his turn comes, fulfills the temporary role of coryphaeus. The job of the others, and especially of his immediate neighbor, to whom he is linked by a handkerchief, is to support him in his convolutions, and these are astonishing when a real mountain dasher is in the lead. But today, even after the first bridal saraband, the Dionysiac zest seemed to abandon the others when they linked hands. The dominance of form in the life of these nomads began to dawn on us.

585 Outside this semicircle, however, all was rejoicing. Staidness evaporated on release, and scores of young nomads were carousing and reeling under
[535] the branches. Squatting or standing among the wigwams, rings of geometrical women confabulated or sang together, and there was even an ex-
[283] clusive little ellipse of dancing women. Their gatherings were abristle — like those of the men with their crooks — with the carved distaffs tucked in their belts, all cloudy with rough hanks of raw wool, the spindles rising and falling at the end
[854] of their twirling threads. Some of the younger of these spinning squaws had wooden cradles slung papooselike on their backs, each containing
[533] a miniature nomad. Their songs had the same epic themes, laced with lament, as those of the men. The murmur of their talk was broken, again and again, with peals of laughter.

The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the

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562 In relation to the men, the women are considered inferior.

The dichotomy according to sex, noted with regard to the conjugal family, exists also, in even more pronounced form in the extended family where men and women constitute different groups, separated and arranged hierarchically.

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[796] It is not only the division of tasks which illustates and demonstrates this, but all the phases of daily life, such as festivals in which men and women dance separately, and magico-religious practices in which rites are performed which differ according to the sex of the performers.

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[627] The young men embody the virile element and the pride of the family. They must distinguish themselves by their "spirit," both in difficult moments, as well as during festivals. They are the ones who take charge of the vendetta, and of the defense of pastures against encroachment, flocks against thieves and of the men against bandits. And they are the ones who will lead the dance, competing with each other in the execution [535] of priouettes and movements full of harmony and masculine ardor. Moreover, there are manifestations of a magico-religious order in which the protagonists are young men, who thus become the movers of forces favorable to the group. Finally, they represent productive forces in their work and, as future husbands and fathers of families, they guarantee the continuity of the lineage and of the family.

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554 However, for them, too, seniority on the one hand and kinship on the other, represent the criteria by which they are placed in the social heirarchy within this same family framework.

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596 In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize another significant aspect of the life style of the extended family, which has to do with festivals and with religious and magical practices.

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elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

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the latter passes to Rome and from there, in the form of May festivals, to Central and Western Europe: H. Graillot: Le culte de Cybèle, p. 131, Firmicus Maternus: De errore profanarum..., p. 22, E. James: Ibid., p. 189-190 where one finds again a description of the Roman festival Hilaria. For the Semites it is Astarte who is accompanied by Adonis and who plays the same role.--In Greece it is Demeter and the Kora Proserpine and also Hera, protectress of the fertility of women and of the earth:

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ : Ηρωτάδες I, 314, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις, II, 17, 4, IX, 8, 1, ΠΑΟΙΤΑΡΧΟΥ : Ο Ανάβολος τῶν Πλουτάδων, 8.

but she is subject to the Olympian Zeus. A separate place must be reserved for Bacchus who in the beginning is only Zeus Couros, god of fertility, not of the vine:

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ : Κρῆτες, Fragm. 472, but also god of spring whose festival is celebrated in Athens in the Anthesteria: M. Nilsson: Geschichte der Griechischen Religion. 1, 547 f.

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[198] These same ideas survive in the Sarakatsani rites, though submerged in a syncretism with Christianity.

As a matter of fact, Pure Monday (the first day of Orthodox Lent and 40 days before Easter) is an important festival among our herders. When night falls, they light fires near the huts. Only the men perform, the
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536 women are content to be spectators. The entertainment starts with a sham marriage, the wife being merely a disguised man. After the so-called celebration of the nuptials the couple retire into a hut for their first
[533] night. The others, who drink heavily, start to sing and dance a special
[535] dance around the fire, the movements of which consist in touching the ground several times. But the newly married couple go through difficult moments. It seems that the husband becomes impotent and his partner protests; then she leaves the hut and looks among the company for another companion whom

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796 536 she tries to lead to the hut. Cries, noise and unseemly remarks fill the night. Abruptly the atmosphere changes. The merriment of the wedding turns to mourning. One of the participants is dead. Then they dig his grave, a ditch where they put the deceased, and start to weep in imitation of funeral laments. When the lamentations have ended the deceased comes [535] out of his grave and, in general rejoicing, they recommence the dancing /which lasts/ until dawn. (33)

[124] [831] 796 191 536 33. The Sarakatsani whom we questioned spoke to us with great reserve about this festival. It is apparently its sexual character which embarrassed them. Madame Hadjimichali gives us a good description of this rite: Ibid., A. I. ρν'η'. Similar practices are found almost all over Greece, according to Professor G. Megas: [illegible], the agricultural population, on the last Sunday /260/ of Carnival and on Pure Monday, give real performances simulating the death and resurrection of a young man designed to induce fertility and abundance; on pp. 95-122, in particular, he cites numerous examples found in Thrace, northern Epirus, Thessaly, Thebes, in the Peleponnesus, at Chios, at Skyros, in Crete. He refers also to the description of the festival in the village of Visyi in Thrace given by Richard Dawkins: The modern Carnival in Thrace /cited in English/, pp. 191-206 which leaves no doubt about the origins and the meaning of the festival. On this same point H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 321 f., referring to the work of K.A. Pomaios: Cultes Populaires de Thrace, tells us that one cannot, on the basis of the scenario of the festival, conclude in favor of a survival of a Dionysian ceremony, contrary to Dawkins and Megas. However, he does not doubt (p. 325) its character, "actually bound up with old fertility rites." As far as the Sarakatsani are concerned, they say that the rite of Pure Monday is performed

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796 [789] against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. 8[illegible].

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the [128] women of the Tsé̱ligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

796 182 831 789 [842] [233] [191] Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

796 789 535 533 539 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

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and the multicolored viper
as a collar around your neck...
/261/ May the stones of this house
never loosen
and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madana" by which the one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani, a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water" (vandani, and by transposition, batani).

It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil subterranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun, driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same forces, (35)

35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 120, referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures, pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

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789 585 [196] influences that ceaselessly threaten the well-being of men and, jealous, take advantage of moments of happiness to attack them. The smacks transform what seems to be a festival into a brawl. (68)

68. This practice is a result of the anthropomorphic form that the Saraktsani give certain bad spirits.

789 784 535 585 That is why, in the course of the feast that follows the celebration of the wedding, the Sarakatsani put on a dance performed by the men alone. Two young men, suitably disguised, here represent the married couple. At a given moment they withdraw from the dance and, in front of everybody, simulate the sexual act, so that /274/ the evil spirits, deceived, descend on them - with no harmful consequences - and spare the couple.

789 825 [237] However, curative procedures, as such, are not lacking. It is very advisable, for example, always to have on oneself something derived from wild animals (skin of the hare, hairs of the wild boar, feathers of the partridge, etc.). These animals that feed on all the plants and shrubs of the field and forest transmit to men their admirable properties (strength, resistance, speed, etc.) as well as the medicinal qualities of their food. (69)

69. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 66: "The superiority of the animal is quite evident. The animal has a power that is lacking in man: muscular force, sharpness of vision, keenness of smell, a sense of orientation..."

That is why honey is considered the best medicine because the bees gather 342 789 honey from all the flowering plants. When the building of a new hut is finished, one does not move in before having lighted a fire in the hearth. 392 And if possible a priest is called to celebrate the office of the holy water. These two procedures tend to assure the well-being of the family. (70)

70. In both cases one seeks to keep off evil influences. That fire has warding-off properties against all evils that try to enter a new dwelling before people do is a very

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53 intended to answer the aesthetic requirements of these herders it must, at the same time, fulfill important functions. (1)

1. For a parallel study see the bibliography and the comments of G. Balandier in his article "Afrique Noire et Madagascar" in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire de l'Art, 1, Le monde non chrètien (1962).

[128] We shall try to consider it in this chapter from this double point of view. Its morphological aspect will necessarily remain in shadow, for it does not enter into the scope of this work.

* * * *

The artistic world of the Sarakatsani is expressed in music (melodies sung or played), poetry (almost always in the form of words to songs), the dance (performed while singing), sculpture in wood, embroidery, narratives and tales.

Its manifestations, in any of these branches, may be classified into two fundamental categories: expressions that are "incorporated" into other aspects of culture, those that are "not incorporated" and the "free."

53 789 [178] The "attached" manifestations are an indissoluble part of the magico-religious ritual and social proceedings. Their subject matter and form are strictly determined by tradition and the ideas that accompany it. No innovation is tolerated, for any change would risk making the ritual ineffective and disrupting the principles of social life. The works of art which correspond to this category are carried out under conditions prescribed in advance and have in view the interests of the group. To /366/ furnish an illustration it is sufficient to recall the 789 533 585 [531] [535] [538] snakes that ornament the /shepherd's/ crook, the distaff and the ritual breads, the embroidered moons, the dances of the dramatic scenes, the verses recited during exorcisms, the phases of the wedding ceremony in

/366 cont./

which songs are the keynote marking the stages of the procedure followed, dictating the sentiments and attitudes which the participants must experience, (2)

2. On the Thursday before the wedding, the girls, relatives of the betrothed couple, set out to gather wood that will be used to bake the wedding cake. And while walking they must sing the following song:

--The little "Rosebush" sets out to cut wood.
--The trees are hard and the girl frail and delicate.
--She wounds her small hand and cuts her little finger.

On Friday evening, at the dwelling of the fiance, the large nuptial flag is made, which is carried at the head of the procession when the latter departs for the dwelling of the fiancee. Here is the song that accompanies this work:

--For whom is this red and white flag?
--It is for the bridegroom, this red and white flag.
--Who makes it, and who colors it red?
--His brothers, his sisters (etc.).
--All the cousins of the bridegroom must be there
--All must be armed and all must fire guns
So that the flag will know prosperity...
--Take care, stitch it tight
It will travel over the mountain
It will be torn by brambles
And the mother-in-law (father-in-law) will make fun
Of it.

When the procession is ready to leave with the fiancee, the

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533 see in this explanation an "ideological" sublimation of suppressed love--a feeling common to human nature and thus not unknown to the Sarakatsani.

[177] All the songs sung on this occasion are not necessarily of Sarakatsani origin; a certain number of them come from general Greek folklore.

533 535 [177] Songs of the non-ritual dance: these songs too are typically not Sarakatsani, like the dances, which are common in the country (Crete and the islands excepted). However, there is a dance known as the "dance of three" which is the Sarakatsani's own and is performed to a Sarakatsani song.

533 461 Songs accompanying some kinds of work: during the seasonal migrations the monotony of the march is often broken by song. The same is true of shearing.

533 461 233 [534] A second "free" artistic manifestation among the Sarakatsani involves tunes played by the shepherds on their flutes during the hours of pasturing--rather sad, tunes drawn-out and full of longing. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3)

3. Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 144-145.

the shepherds themselves say that they reproduce on their flutes the [114] sound of the small bells. We believe that this testimony is musically incorrect. The flocks recognize the sounds of the flute and gather around the shepherd as they gather around the large bell of the ram. It is a matter of conditioning the animals by sounds, a conditioning which, though common to both cases, in no way assumes an artistic 533 ressemblance between one and the other. And if the tunes played /368/ 233 on the flute with their cadences and trills often evoke the sounds of the bells of the flocks which, heard from a distance, seem to form musical phrases including cadences and trills, it must nevertheless be